



## Kennedy Throws His Hat in the Ring

The broad-brimmed hat of the Southern planter and the brown derby of the New England aristocrat have been thrown into the contenders' ring, setting the Carter and Kennedy campaign machines in full swing. The race in the "Democratic" Party has officially begun.



The big issues of the 1980 election year are already defined—energy and inflation. Surrounding these issues is the question of leadership. "Which candidate will pull America out of the crisis?" "Will Carter overcome his indecisiveness?" "Can Kennedy handle the stress or will he respond as he did at Chappaquiddick?"

But these questions are just shadows of the real villains dogging the heels of the bourgeoisie in these times of crisis. The 1980 campaign takes place in the midst of an economic and political crisis of US imperialism.

The present economic crisis is leaving its mark on the election year. Each candidate will be judged by his stand on rising unemployment, the declining standard of living and staggering inflation.

Under Carter, inflation has gone from bad to worse. Unemployment takes its toll on an ever-increasing number of workers. But despite all the campaign rhetoric of the "opposition", this crisis is not work of Jimmy Carter. It is one more of the inevitable periodic crises of capitalism on its long slide down. Beyond any president's control, these periodic crises today hit more often and with increasing severity from which there is never full recovery. Carter's crime is not that he created the crisis, but that he has worked to place its burden on

the working class. In this sense he has been neither indecisive nor unsuccessful.

### Differences Within The Ruling Class

Maintaining capitalist rule in a crisis ridden society becomes increasingly difficult, giving rise to the political side of the capitalist crisis. It is manifested in many ways. Within the camp of the bourgeoisie today there are divisions which will become sharper during the 1980 elections. The differences are over how to maintain capitalist rule and salvage a dying system. Some sectors of the bourgeoisie demand greater repression against the working masses as the means to prop up the US imperialist system—the rule of the stick. Others demand more social services and reforms to alleviate the affects of the crisis—the rule of the carrot. The difference between these positions is not over the principle of maintaining their rule, or even over the use of reactionary violence to do so. It is a tactical difference over how to maintain control over the working class at given times, the balance between repression and bribery to weaken the revolutionary movement of the working class.

This difference occurs also over how to best pursue the interests of US imperialism internationally, as in the heated debates on the Panama Canal Treaty, Nicaragua or SALT II. The question is what combination of tactics the bourgeoisie will use—outright military aggression or "aid" and bribery.

### Divisions Among the Reformists

Splits within the camp of the reformists both reflect and contribute to the political crisis of the bourgeoisie. Whether within the AFL-CIO or the NAACP, the reformists face growing contradictions within their ranks. Again the question is how to maintain influence and control over the exploited masses. In the trade union movement, the Winpisingers fake "left" to gain support, while the McBrides rely on more conservative positions. This breach will

have its effect on the 1980 elections as the reformists scramble to pull the masses onto this or that campaign trail. Disunity within the reformist camp aggravates the political crisis of the bourgeoisie, for the reformists are one of the main means by which the bourgeoisie promotes its interests within the ranks of the oppressed.

### "A Crisis of Faith"

The most difficult problem for the bourgeoisie on the political front this campaign year will be the growing lack of faith in government among the masses of people. It is no accident that voting is at an all time low, or that no president has been able to complete two full terms in office since the rule of Eisenhower. Changing

political horses in mid stream is a desperate attempt to try out a new hat, to convince the masses that the problem is one of individual leadership, to bring out a new "savior."

It hasn't worked. It takes only a very short time before the bourgeoisie's new man in office is exposed. This process has picked up steam ever since Richard Nixon was thrown from office. Since then, faith in government has never been quite the same. Carter's own popularity quickly waned, his ratings dipping even lower than Nixon's. He has spent the last two years of his term trying one facelift after another to give his administration a fresh new look.

The capitalists produce "sa-

vors" like the automakers trot out new models. When Carter ran against Ford, he was the populist and Ford campaigned in the shadow of Nixon, the reactionary. Ford was corrupt, Carter was pure. Yet Carter's own "Peanutgate" followed soon after with the resignation from official position of his dear friend Bert Lance. Nixon's wage controls have found a near twin in Carter's implemented wage controls this year. Carter promised to reduce military spending, yet it has continued to climb rapidly.

Now it is Kennedy's turn to play "Man of the people." What are his credentials? Both Carter and Kennedy admit that they stand on the same ground on most

(Continued on page 6)

### At the November National AFL-CIO Convention

## Meany Will Pass the Traitors' Torch to Lane Kirkland

"You cannot hope to force or twist, Thank God, the AFL trade unionist. But seeing what, unforced, he'll do, there really is no reason to."

George Meany is about to retire. Viewed by some with about the same interest as the passing of the dinosaurs, retired by the ice of a new age, George Meany is likely to be underestimated. Those who view the cigar chomping high priest of the AFL-CIO as an outdated relic of the "Big Labor" years will fall victim to the "new breed—old breed" double talk of TIME magazine. Don't be fooled.

Not only is Meany likely to be underestimated, so too is the

AFL-CIO in terms of its effect on our daily lives. The Meany philosophy of unionism, a philosophy of outright class collaboration, has molded the labor movement as it is today. A look at this unionism points up three deadly accomplishments of the AFL-CIO.

First, Meany trade unionism has helped the US imperialists smash the militant workers' movement in other countries. In nation after nation it has constructed perfect "company unions" with the help of the US State Department. When you wonder why workers in South America, Mexico, Asia and Europe are forced to work at such low wages, which invite the runaway shops US workers are threatened with, look to the AFL-CIO. When you wonder why your plant can move to an unorganized, right to work state in the South, look to the subversion of the AFL-CIO.

Second, AFL Meany trade unionism helped strip the US labor movement of its historic militancy, its leaders and its political orientation. When you wonder what happened to the CIO militants who built the industrial unions, look to the witch hunts of the 1950's led by the AFL-CIO. Look even now to the union leaders' refusal to protect militants from company attack. If you worry that your union may be placed in receivership if it proves too militant for the International apparatus, look to the long list of militant unions expelled from the AFL-CIO—the Longshoremen, Electrical Workers and others. When you think about the trade union rights we have lost—the right to strike and ratify in steel, the rights of of union democracy, look to the leadership of the AFL-CIO. Look

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## There Are Always Possibilities for Struggle

An Interview with  
Joao Amazonas, First Secretary  
of the  
Communist Party of Brazil  
as reported in  
Roter Morgen

Turn to page 6



# National

## Stop Big Oil:

# Fight for a Price Freeze and Rollback!

**Chicago, IL** — What does Big Oil need to know? Does it need to know that people are displeased with its price gouging? That we don't like having to choose between heating our homes and eating? No, they already know that

Do they need to be reminded that their profits on gasoline have jumped by 90% since 1975? No. Their own profit charts tell them that

### Long on Description, Short on Prescription

The organizers of the Chicago Stop Big Oil rally, including the Illinois Public Action Council, the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, Operation PUSH, the United Autoworkers, the United Steel

workers and senior citizen and community action groups, organized a contingent of speakers who blasted the greed of the oil barons and described the suffering of the poor and elderly who are forced to choose between eating and heating their homes

Big Oil Discredit cards were distributed for supporters to sign, demanding new price controls, an end to lies and phony shortages and an end to the oil monopoly

Jane Fonda capped the rally by vowing that politicians who sit by while people suffer will "reap the grapes of wrath"

Tom Hayden harked back to the era of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. In 1945 Roosevelt knew the oil monopolies had to

be stopped, Hayden claimed, but unfortunately Roosevelt died and the oil monopolies have gone unchallenged for over 30 years

The biggest and emptiest threat of all was the call to nationalize Big Oil

### Nationalization The Right Reform?

For some time now the CPUSA has called for the nationalization of Big Oil as the solution to the energy crisis. Reformist organizations here and there have begun to take up this call, though confusion reigns as to just what nationalization means. Will it end the oil monopoly? Will it solve the energy crisis?

The proposal to nationalize

Big Oil is a call to remove ownership of the oil industry from the hands of individual capitalist corporations, placing it in the hands of the bourgeois state

Given that high prices, phony shortages and the energy crisis in total are the result of the capitalist system of profit, how does placing control of oil fields at home and abroad in the hands of the bourgeois state solve the problem? It doesn't. Rather than end the monopoly on oil, nationalization strengthens state monopoly capitalism. Oil resources remain in the hands of the capitalists. Profits continue to flow into the bourgeoisie's coffers

When the state has "nationalized" an industry, such as the railroads or the postal service, the first thing the government does is call for bids from private industry to "administer" the project. It remains run as a profit making capitalist enterprise, and the "administering" corporation makes a bundle. The only difference is that government funds (tax money drained from working people), is spent to keep the business afloat

A very fundamental mistake lurks behind the revisionists' solution, the demand for nationalization. That mistake is a completely wrong conception of the state. Both the CPUSA and the Tom Haydens, who shake their fists at the monopolies and cry "economic democracy", desperately cling to the illusion that the state is a neutral arbitrator which stands above the contradictions of class society. Time and again, this illusion runs smack up against the obvious reality that the state is an instrument of class rule, organized expressly for the suppression of one class by another. The U.S. government is the executive committee of the U.S. capitalist class. It enforces capitalist rule over the working masses

Blasting government politicians for their failure to carry out their role as "servants of the people", as Jane Fonda does, is just another manifestation of this illusion. Government politicians, judges and the like are loyal "servants" of only one class — the capitalists. Jane Fonda, though full of radical rhetoric, is a main proponent of the tom foolery of democracy under the rule of the bourgeoisie

The word "nationalization" is itself a misnomer because it obscures the class essence of a nation and state. Making a resource the property of a nation means making it the property of the ruling class of that nation. Whether talking about the nationalization of Big Oil or the "nationalization" by the Arab capitalists of Arab oil fields, you are talking about making it the property of the ruling capitalist class. But even the Saudi Arabian nationalization of its oil is quite different than the Albanian nationalization of its oil

What the revisionists and reformists call for in the U.S. has nothing in common with the nationalization of the Albanian oil industry in 1945. Not only was

the stranglehold of Italian imperialism broken, but an anti-imperialist people's revolution had led to a change in internal class relations and a new state power. The Albanian oil fields were nationalized on a socialist basis and ownership was placed in the hands of the dictatorship of the Albanian proletariat and working peasantry. This is the only kind of nationalization of U.S. industry in the interests of the U.S. proletariat

### The Right Reform

What program of struggle will reverse the trend of skyrocketing oil and gasoline prices in the U.S.? What are revolutionary demands that will defend the living standard of the working class and force the oil barons to bear the burden of their own crisis?

The CPUSA's nationalization is not the answer. The kind of price controls a Carter or Kennedy are likely to reinstitute are not in themselves the answer either

The reforms which can lead to an improvement in the living standard of the proletariat and its allies, on the road to the socialist nationalization of the oil industry, are immediate price freezes and a rollback of prices. The U.S. oil barons must be stopped, now, from raising prices and passing along their increased costs to the consumer

Over the last five years workers' wages have not kept pace with inflation in general, or kept up with the rise in oil and gas prices, in particular. A rollback of prices to the January 1974 level would bring relief from the already high prices gouged from the working masses since the "gas crisis" hoax of 1973

The two burning issues in the political arena today are energy and inflation. These two issues converge around the question of Big Oil. Every candidate in the 1980 elections — on both the national and local level — will be forced to confront these issues

Throughout the election campaign, the proletariat has the task of raising the question of state power and socialism as the solution to the general crisis of capitalism and the intensifying economic, political and ideological struggle between those who own and those who labor. Reforms such as a price freeze and rollback, if fought for on a conscious basis nationwide, can be won as a byproduct of this revolutionary struggle. These reforms will improve the living standard of the proletariat and resultingly increase its fighting ability in the struggle for state power

Shaking a fist at Big Oil or threatening the capitalists and their political hacks with the "grapes of wrath" may be theatrical. It is only the privileged union hacks and movie stars who need the suffering of workers described to them. A persistent nationwide struggle for an immediate price freeze and price rollbacks may not be so glamorous, but then again, the revolutionary struggle to defend the interests of the proletariat and educate it to the need for socialism is not the stuff of Hollywood hype

## Editorials

### More from the Reformists on the Mid-East

Flying quickly to the side of the Zionists recently was the delegation to Israel from the AFL CIO and the NAACP. Delegation head Bayard Rustin announced, "I cannot embrace the PLO without embracing the Ku Klux Klan." This outrageous statement stems from Rustin's stand toward revolutionary struggle. For Rustin, social change occurs only through abject, on the knees begging

Comparing the PLO to the KKK is reactionary. The PLO fights for the liberation of the Palestinian people, while the KKK fights for the unjust subjugation of the working and oppressed Black people. The PLO, with broad support of the Palestinian people, combines revolutionary terror with the broad based armed struggle in order to fight national oppression. The fascist KKK on the other hand utilizes reactionary terror, be it lynchings, bombings or beatings on behalf of national oppression. Furthermore, the PLO has dealt blows against world imperialism, while the KKK is an arm of the imperialist state

While Rustin says he cannot embrace the PLO, he does embrace Zionism. It is Zionism which is the vicious twin of the fascist KKK in the U.S., not the PLO. Like the KKK, Zionism promotes national chauvinism and racism. Zionism, which is quite different from Judaism, is the philosophical justification for promoting the superiority of Jews over the Arab people. It justifies the robbery of the Palestinian's homeland and the years of terror, murder and destruction aimed at the Palestinian people. By embracing Zionism, Rustin in fact embraces racism and national oppression. It is Rustin and his reformist crew who give aid and comfort to the enemy — in Israel and in the U.S.

### Upheaval in S. Korea

Secretary of State Brown, salesman for the world's biggest arms supplier, U.S. imperialism, recently made his annual peddling trip to Korea and Japan. In his leatherette case, Brown carried the new plans for the militarization of these countries. Brown also carried a letter on "human rights" from President Carter to the Korean Park regime

As Brown presented his calling card, Korea was rocked by the largest popular demonstrations since 1960, demanding democratic rights and the overthrow of the Park regime. The Park regime excused itself from meetings with Brown to respond to the demonstrators, killing several, arresting thousands and placing the army in charge of the major industrial section of Korea

Brown emphatically stated over and over that his two missions in Korea were separate and distinct. The first mission was to sell the Park regime helicopter gunships, an air warning system and F-5 fighter jets. But Brown did not want these tools, which in Park's hands are instruments to protect the "rights" of the oppressor of the peoples, connected with his second mission — the delivery of Carter's letter. Now, even though Park has been assassinated, the fascist regime remains

So much for the platitudes which are spouted from Congress and the White House about making arms sales contingent on "respect for human rights." Massive "violations" are occurring right under the nose of Brown in Korea yet his response was to say that the issues must be kept separate. There is no separation between the repression in South Korea and the U.S. supplied military machine. There is no separation between the conditions of life for the Korean masses and the existence of American-owned sweatshops located in the area now occupied by the Korean army

Brown's false separations and Carter's "human rights" campaign are simply attempts to cover over the aggressive designs of U.S. imperialism. In every part of the world, whether in Asia, Central America, Europe or the Mid East, Brown and other emissaries of U.S. imperialism are increasing the arsenals of war and strengthening the hand of reaction. This is not done for the protection of human rights but for the protection and expansion of U.S. capital



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## Every Factory Our Fortress

# Meany to Pass the Traitors' Torch...

(Continued from page 1)

to the policy of George Meany and friends who said, "I have never run a strike in my life, never went on strike in my life, never ordered anyone to go on strike in my life, never had anything to do with a picket line. I have no experience with that kind of power."

Third, look to the AFL CIO leadership for complete cooperation with the capitalists in their effort to place the burden of the crisis on the backs of the working class, beating the drum for the imperialists' Vietnam war, swooning in their love affair with Nixon's wage freeze and the recent AFL-CIO campaign to oust Carter Carter by calling for mandatory wage controls. Since 1940 these wage controls have proved time and again to lower workers' real wages and standard of living. This is the policy of the AFL CIO.

It is a policy of class collaboration Meany inherited from his predecessors. It is a policy he will pass on to his heir, Lane Kirkland. It is the policy, not just of the AFL CIO leadership, for it is passed down through every level of trade union bureaucrat finding its way to the shop floor in bad contracts, blown strikes, lost grievances and backroom deals which plague our class. It is the policy, not just of the AFL CIO, but of the reformist class collaborating unions throughout

the world, set up with the aid and compliments of the AFL-CIO since World War II. It is a yellow unionism which forges new chains of wage slavery for the workers of the world.

Those that view the Meany/Kirkland change of command in the AFL CIO as a brand new direction will not be able to explain or expose either the history of Meany's treachery or the new plans for trade union treachery being cooked up by the ruling class.

In order to expose these high priests of trade union infamy, in order to break the hold of their reformism — their class partnership — on the working class and in order to bring class struggle unionism to a rebirth in our country, we need to examine the career of Mr. George Meany.

### The Career of a Traitor

In the mid 1940's the world was coming out of the war. Coming out of the capitalist offensive of the 1930's where "class struggle unionism" was the obvious path for the trade unions, the working class of the major imperialist countries and of the Soviet Union joined in the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), dedicated to ending the exploitative system of capitalism worldwide. This was a tremendous step forward and bore great promise for worldwide resistance to such



The Difference Between a Cigar and a Cigarette Holder

capitalist scourges as imperialist war international runaway shops and economic crises.

But for the imperialists this was not what the doctor ordered. In Meany the U.S. imperialists found a man who so hated the workers, so hated peace and democracy and so loved his own privileges that he enthusiastically took the job of splitting the WFTU and forming an international organization of company unions called the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

This strategy won such favor from the capitalist bosses that the class traitors in both the AFL and the CIO fanned out over the globe establishing class collaborating, sold out unions in Germany, Greece and numerous other countries designated by the imperialists. Beating the war drums against communism, Meany's clique spared no effort in service to the growing fascist forces of the bourgeoisie. As Meany's cohort James Carey put it, "In the last war we joined with the communists to beat the fascists. In this upcoming one we will join with the fascists to beat the communists."

### Sweeping Imperialism's Doorstep

The period after the war in which the U.S. imperialists emerged as top dog presented many new opportunities for the class traitors of the AFL and CIO. Faced with the task of gutting the growing revolutionary trade union movement, Meany did not have to strike a "left" pose as required of his predecessors during the strike movement of the depression. Playing on the Gompers philosophy of depoliticizing the movement by appealing only to "belly issues", Meany signed a non aggression pact with the capitalists, saying, "Our goals as trade unionists are modest. We believe in the American profit system."

In return, the imperialists who needed labor peace in the U.S. in order to expand internationally were willing to go to a certain expense to get it. During the period of imperialist expansion of 1950 to 1965 real wages in America actually went up, important pension plans were won. Meany used to say of this period that he had won so many vacation days for

the workers that he created the tourist industry.

Between the witch hunts against militant leaders of unions and the imperialist crumbs, Meany was able to depoliticize the movement, rob it of its revolutionary goals and direct it toward the submersion of the once militant CIO into the AFL with the merger in 1955.

### Watch Out for the Ice, George

But the flower of U.S. imperialism had faded a bit, growing into a twisted vine that still holds the world's workers in a death grip. In the late 1960's wage raises began to be more than swallowed up by inflation and many unions were caught, having given away cost of living clauses in exchange for Meany's much bragged about vacation days.

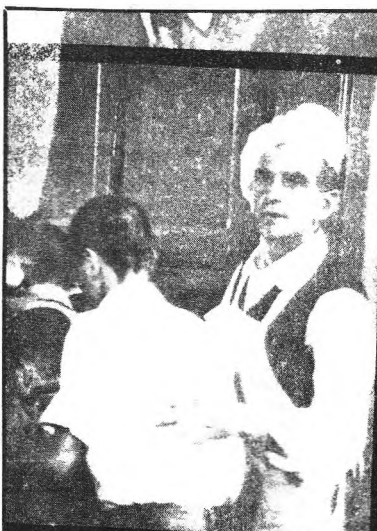
As President Carter has belatedly suggested, U.S. imperialism has entered a new phase, an era of limitation, of scarcity rather than the era of abundance of the fifties and early sixties. The current capitalist offensive against the workers, rapidly increasing their exploitation, is politicizing the movement. But Meany has not swung "left" to remain at the head of the labor movement. He has outvultured the Vietnam hawks and persists in Nixon's fascist methods of wage control and controlling "unrest in the streets." To his capitalist masters, there is a danger that Meany's rightist reformism will lose the leadership of the left moving section of the working class.

Today the threat of the leftward drift of the workers to class struggle unionism is not yet strong enough to require the bourgeoisie to tap "leftists" like the UAW's Fraser or the Machinists' Winpisinger.

The man to take the traitors' torch will be current secretary treasurer Lane Kirkland, a bureaucrat of late differing from Meany mainly in that he uses a cigarette holder rather than a cigar. Kirkland's degree from the Georgetown School of Foreign Service, the school for agents of the State Department, will undoubtedly help in a coordinated effort to preserve the influence of U.S. imperialism in the trade union movement abroad, preserving the tradition of foreign service built by Gompers and Meany.

But at home Kirkland faces the developing consciousness on the part of the working class of trade union treachery and the increasingly difficult task of preserving his mask of leadership when he must cooperate with the capitalist offensive to intensify the exploitation of the American worker. He must deal with the increasing number of AFL CIO bureaucrats who want to move to "left" posturing as a way of misleading the workers' movement. This speaks to potential splits in the AFL CIO in coming years.

George Meany, in his eighties, is not retiring just because of age. Meany has fulfilled a special historic task of orchestrating the sell out of the working class in a particular period, the flowering of U.S. imperialism after the War. With the economic crisis of the 1970's and soon the 1980's the tune of imperialism has changed and the cigar waving band leader must hand over the baton to a man judged by the capitalists to be more capable of leading the marchers down the road of class collaboration, down the road of wage slavery. This man is Lane Kirkland. ■



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## Every Factory Our Fortress

At the UMWA Convention Miners Will Demand

# One National Contract!

Up from the bowels of the earth the coal cars rumble. Coal — this rich natural resource — has become the centerpiece in an energy plan to "save" the nation. Under the banner of "energy self sufficiency", immediately after his election, Carter demanded that coal production must double by 1985. This expansion will line the pockets of a few and be borne on the backs of the many.

The capitalists' plan for a rapid increase in coal production is two-pronged. Open new mines and step-up output at old ones, and break the militancy of the miners. As the Company-Government Union attacks move into full swing, rank-and-file miners are preparing to fight this squeeze at the UMWA National Convention in December.

### Westward, Ho!

Most Eastern mines are old, deep mines. While highly profitable, production has been disrupted by continuous strikes in recent years. Western coal, on the other hand, is either mined through the strip process or open pit. Though initially requiring large capital investment, it can be mined more rapidly with a higher yield. An additional bonus in the Western coalfields is its non-union workforce. These combined factors have made the West the target for rapid expansion. By 1985, Eastern coal will account for only 50% of all utility coal — down from 78% in 1975.

Heading up the drive westward is Big Oil. Small coal producers do not have the capital to develop the massive strip and open pit sites. The oil monopolists have been buying up the nation's coal reserves and accumulating already existing mines. Of the top 20 owners of U.S. coal reserves, 11 are oil corporations. Exxon, for example, is the nation's 4th largest coal reserve owner. By 1985 more than 50% of all coal used in the U.S. will be bought from the oil monopolies.

Carter's energy policy has been tailored to serve the interests of Big Oil. Along with deregulating natural gas and oil, Congress recently passed a law forbidding the burning of oil or natural gas in most new power plants. Thus the oil companies have been guaranteed a market for their new investment. The increasing concentration of all energy resources — oil, uranium, coal and natural gas — in the hands of a very few capitalist bandits means the monopoly over energy will be complete, the stranglehold over the nation's people tightened. Monopoly pricing, gluts and shortages will be unparalleled in the coming years.

### The Second Prong

Rapid expansion of coal production comes up against a sticky problem — how to break the back of miners' resistance. The wave of wildcat strikes, culminating in the 111 day national strike during the winter of 1978, put deeply into

lists' plan for increased production. To achieve the 1985 aim of doubling production, labor peace in coal is essential. From the get-go the capitalists looked to the UMWA for cooperation. Miller and Company obliged.

The last coal contract was hailed by both the companies and the union bureaucrats as a great step forward for labor-management relations. It established new strike guidelines. A worker who initiates or helps spread a wildcat can be fired. The coal operators can sue union locals for damages due to lost production time.

The second wave of the attack came barely after the ink was dry on the contract. Consolidation Coal Company, a subsidiary of Conoco Oil, pulled out of the BCOA in order to negotiate a separate contract. Then, this September in a meeting of the BCOA, the steel corporations, led by U.S. Steel, who are also in the coal mining business, threatened to follow suit unless the BCOA negotiating process is reorganized, giving the steel corporations more influence in bargaining contracts.

As the 1981 contract struggle approaches, mine workers of the UMWA are faced with a situation where their union is fast losing ground. The UMWA is losing any semblance of a national organization. It has organized few mines in the Western coal fields, and those it did organize are under a separate contract. Only 50% of the nation's coal is today dug by UMWA miners. Almost all the scab coal delivered during the national strike came from Western

mines.

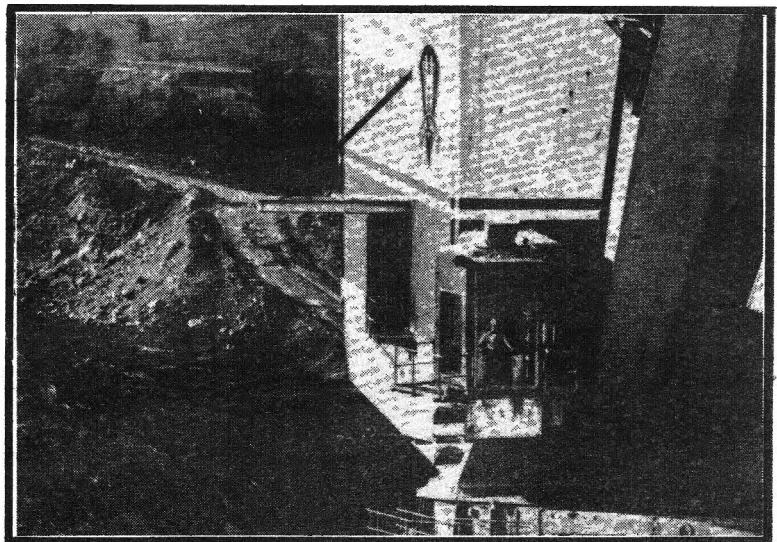
The UMWA's refusal to organize the unorganized had led to this situation. The few drives it does conduct are sabotaged and sold out by the union apparatus. After a two year strike at Stearns mine in Kentucky, the UMWA agreed with the company's demand to call a union recognition vote. The striking miners were not allowed to participate, for they had long since been replaced by scabs. The result was predictable — a company union is now the Stearns bargaining agent. Now the UMWA has cut off strike funds to miners at the Jericol mine in East Kentucky, while claiming to support the strike! With such "efforts", it is not surprising that the UMWA loses more drives than it wins.

To date the UMWA bureaucrats have barely commented on the emerging trend for separate contracts. In fact, there are strong indications that the union considers this a "blessing in disguise." Miller and Company negotiated the last contract which allows for company by company negotiations on health insurance and incentive plans. Now through silence and inaction, the objective support for separate contracts seems a logical extension of a process they helped engineer.

The capitalists' union busting drive which is chauffeured by the union bureaucrats is aimed toward placing the UMWA rank and file in a powerless position when they face the biggest U.S. monopoly capitalists in 1981. Recognizing the gravity of the situation, some miners have



Higher yields and an unorganized workforce have tempted coal companies westward, out of the deep eastern mines. This, along with Miller's treachery, threatens to fragment the union.



begun to organize. In December the UMWA National Convention opens. Workers have begun to organize around the demand for **One National Contract!** Already some locals have passed resolutions in support of this demand.

The fight for one national contract is one small step toward rebuilding the unified strength of mine workers. But even though small, it is important. The ambitions of the capitalists to completely disintegrate the UMWA and the united resistance of rank-and-file miners has to be fought on every front. The heart of this

struggle is to build the revolutionary organization of the workers. The fight for a single contract is an integral part of the fight to build the revolutionary organization of miners, united in a single union under a single contract.

Building the revolutionary union opposition among coal miners insures the ability of the workers to fight, from class struggle positions, against both the capitalists' assaults and the collaboration of the reformist trade union apparatus which has helped create the grave situation which faces miners today. ■

## Chrysler Contract: An Expensive Lesson

# Fraser Gets A "Promotion"!

The practice of buying high official posts is not limited to corrupt big city government. It is alive and well among trade union bureaucrats. After months of offering and re-offering Chrysler workers on a silver platter, Doug Fraser, head of the United Auto Workers, has finally gotten the dinner served. And he himself, appears to be the guest of honor.

The financial troubles of the Chrysler Corporation junior partner of the Big Three, were announced last spring. In a year in which the corporation paid its highest executive salaries and highest dividends to shareholders on record, Chrysler complained it had suffered \$200 million in losses, and asked the taxpayers, by way of the government, for a one billion dollar bailout. The government responded by offering one half of that amount if "other interested parties" would make equal sacrifices, meaning the autoworkers.

Rather than expose this fraud, Fraser announced from the first that he would negotiate a "take

workers in order to "save" the corporation. Social democrats across the nation had a heyday with suggesting "arrangements" with the capitalists. Fraser's last? That the autoworkers, who make about \$18,000 a year, would sustain a payout equal to that of Chrysler executives who make up to \$400,000 a year.

For months the UAW negotiators were in the kitchen secretly preparing the coup de grace, the goose which was to be Chrysler's corporate feast. But first the appetizer. In as long as anyone could remember, the master contract did not include the customary term, "the Big Three", preparing the way for special treatment for Chrysler workers. Then it came.

The new substandard contract says that for the mere price of two to three hundred million dollars in savings to Chrysler over three years — savings gained by picking the pockets of Chrysler workers — there will be a new seat on the Chrysler Board of Directors for Doug Fraser. What a plum! What a coup! What a sell

If Chrysler workers accept this contract, it will be an expensive lesson. Spread out evenly, it will cost each of the 150,000 Chrysler workers two to three thousand dollars to have his personal labor bureaucrat on the Board of Directors.

The presence of social democratic labor bureaucrats on the Board of Directors of a major U.S. corporation has been the road to salvation preached by the reformists for years. The joint "labor management" commissions in coal and steel, the Trotskyites' "worker management" plans, the "control the banks through the pension plans" strategy all center on managing capitalism by placing some of the union bureaucrats among the capitalists. But if you place a fat cow in the cornfield, all you will get is a fatter cow.

Does anyone think that Fraser's being on the Board of Directors will stop Chrysler's plans for increasing the exploitation of the workers by closing plants, speeding up lines, automation and layoffs? This trend can't be stopped because it is an objective

phenomenon of capitalism. If Chrysler continues as a separate corporate entity it must do precisely these things to compete. If Chrysler is absorbed by another corporation, exactly the same rationalization will happen, perhaps a little faster. So what will the Chrysler workers have bought at the price of three thousand apiece over three years? A lush cornfield for Fraser.

Oh, the pronouncements we will get now! And if Fraser finds this move to be a mistake, when more and more workers wonder what they have bought, he will quit the corporation just as he quit the President's Labor Management Commission, with pronouncements about how the capitalists don't play by the rules and how there really is class struggle going on.

The working class knows that there is really class struggle going on. As for the likes of Doug Fraser? We must throw out these social climbers, these parasites. **The working class will not buy high posts for class traitors!**

**Down With the Contract!**



## For Democracy and Socialism!

# Collective Struggle for Survival and Socialism Conspiracy of Millions

Second in a Series on  
The Great Depression

The lady downstairs takes care of eight, no, nine children while their parents are working. It helps to make ends meet. Yesterday I heard her cursing at the kids, "goddammit" echoing up and down the halls. Right away I thought, that lady shouldn't be taking care of kids. But no, wait. I know that scream. That's the scream we hear every day. A scream of desperation rising up out of the frustrating efforts of an individual to survive in a society that makes that survival more and more impossible.

It's the scream of James Johnson who blew away his foreman on an auto assembly line in Detroit. The jury admitted his temporary insanity plea when they were shown the conditions on the line. It is the scream of Buddy Cochran as he drove his Jaguar into a group of Klansmen who were calling for the extermination of the Blacks who stood shoulder to shoulder with Cochran in Vietnam.

Every minute of every day in America these individual efforts to survive in the face of a hostile social system flare up. And from time to time, they find a voice in a collective determination to sur-

vive. This is why communists write about the Great Depression. Not out of some empty headed romantic idea of heroism and hardship, but out of a respect for a people's struggle - when it appears that the fabric of human relations are being torn apart - to collectively struggle for survival. And to struggle for more than survival because it is in these periods of collective struggle that the great potential of a people surfaces, bubbling up to the top with accomplishments and demands that would astonish the well fed. During the years of the Great Depression the have nots, the working class and even members of the petty bourgeoisie sang out to the funeral march of incredible suffering and a demand for survival that not only astonished but terrified the well fed capitalist class of America.

### "We Got To Get Organized"

The masses have a spontaneous tendency to get organized. Today the masses recognize the need to struggle for survival collectively, for better schools, safer neighborhoods and lesser taxes, even when presented with the most empty promises of the reformists, in the face of a society which denies individual solutions. In the 1930's everything from urban block clubs

to agricultural cooperatives were organized because the situation demanded it. Sharecroppers banded together to protect themselves from the ravages of capitalism. Throughout the cities, rent strikes, resistance to evictions and mutual aid societies sprang up to answer the collective call for help. But this was not philanthropy offered by the millionaires nor the charity offered by the Red Cross. This was the open fisted offering from one soul to another, neither of whom could afford the dime given. This was not just assistance, this was resistance.

Much has been written about the great accomplishments of the Depression era, of the reforms won like Social Security, of the heroic strikes, demonstrations or organizing drives and defense of the people's heroes. But a startling accomplishment of this mass movement was that men and women from all strata and all walks of life were drawn into a collective struggle for self preservation. That struggle went beyond the "single issue" categories the reformists try to build these days. A worker going to a meeting on evictions would find himself discussing the housing situation in the Soviet Union or the legal ins and outs of social insurance. In this way the crisis was shown to be an all-round crisis of the capitalist system, which called for a new system to replace it.

Even among those of the petty bourgeoisie who were able to avoid ruination, families took in children of workers who could no longer support their young. From the petty bourgeois intellectuals there was a tremendous flowering of literature, music and art created on the subject of class struggle and written not for the "cultured", but for the masses in motion.

### The Role of the Party Of the Working Class

There is a story from the upsurge of revolutionary art. It opens with a worker, sitting in his city tenement, waiting for the slightest breeze, relief from the sweltering summer fumes and absently cursing "that guy with the crazy ideas, a communist or something", on the fourth floor. The worker's family is trying to decide whether to use their last dollar for a one day vacation at the beach or partial rent on their dilapidated two rooms.

Finally they decide to go to the beach, but the worker can barely hear his child's laughter, feel the sunshine and the breeze over the muffled scream welling up inside of him, the scream of frustration in an individual's battle to survive. On returning home, the worker finds himself wandering to the door of "that guy with the crazy ideas, that communist." Another soul enters the collective struggle.

If the masses have a spontaneous tendency to get organized, what is the role of the class's party? What is the use of communists? The Party has three tasks. First it needs to broaden and deepen the movement bringing



Pamphlets such as this one published by the Young Communist League in 1937, and hundreds of others published by the CPUSA and revolutionary mass organizations promoted communist ideology and revolutionary organizations among the broad masses of people in struggle.

ever more strata into the movement, joining all single issue struggles into a single assault on the system of capitalism. At the same time communists need to deepen the understanding of the overall crisis, elevating the political issues, training leaders from the movement and directing the movement to the goal of the seizure of state power for the workers, a final blow at the root of the crisis.

Second, the Party has the responsibility to expose the misleaders who plan to rise to power on the backs of the movement, prolonging the suffering of the masses. Third, the Party must prove itself the tactical and strategic leader of the movement, not just for a bettering of the conditions of the crisis, but for workers' power and socialist revolution, the beginning of a new world.

The CPUSA in those years found itself faced with these tasks. While scoring many successes, in later years the Party failed and failed again to take up its responsibilities, finally giving up its claim to revolutionary leadership, finally giving up the masses to the nervous embrace of the capitalists and their reformist mouthpieces.

In implementing the principle "the greatest access to the masses at the highest level" you can find the key to the successes and failures of the CPUSA. A real strength of the Party during the Depression was its ability to penetrate the mass movement, to speak to the questions of collective survival, to have organizers who lived in tenements. Though at times these roots with the masses were not strategically well focussed, the Party set the masses in motion. In addition to a lively pamphlet press which dealt with everything from "Youth in Industry" to "Schools and the Crisis", the Party ran schools, and built the Party's presence by running candidates in the bourgeois elections both locally and nationally. The Party could be found everywhere.

A spate of "how to" essays on organizing were published. But while these manifested a certain amount of roots in the mass movement, a certain degree of access, they were often without political principle. They were not access at the highest level. In fact the CPUSA sacrificed the long-range political education of the masses necessary for a revolutionary movement to the short term agitation necessary to win certain reforms. After one long labor struggle workers were heard to say, "For waging a strike you can't beat a communist, but once we win, well, who needs them?" This was the result of the CPUSA's reformism.

### Handing the Masses Over to Reformism

Who was Franklin Delano Roosevelt? Was he a communist? A socialist? No, he was neither. He was the capitalist politician chosen by the capitalist class to take the mass movement from the hands of the communists. Coming to power in 1932, Roosevelt was met by a mass movement in full swing, many demanding immediate reforms, some, an increasing number demanding socialist revolution, an end to the capitalist system.

But the fight for reforms alone does not require a broad revolutionary mass movement, and it was this kind of mass movement which most terrified the capitalist class in the Depression. It was Roosevelt's job to, one by one, break the growing assault on capitalism down once more to single issues, issues which could be addressed by individuals through this or that government program.

As the communists abandoned the revolutionary collective mass movement, lining up behind the reformist Roosevelt, so too did sections of the movement. By 1940, the revolutionary intellectuals who five years before had written about the glorious future of workers' power, of socialism in America, had turned to praising the ability of capitalism to reform itself, to become progressive.

### The Seeds of Depression Today

But capitalism hasn't become progressive. With the hindsight of fifty years we see that the frustrated and desperate scream of individuals battling against capitalism is growing louder. From fifty years later we can see that the reformists and Roosevelt and the revisionist CPUSA who abandoned the class struggle produced nothing more than prolonged misery.

It is our task, as the Party, to once again unite those scattered screams into another mass movement, so that the masses will once again unequivocally shout their demand for liberation, terrifying the bourgeoisie with the knowledge of what is to come. But we must learn from the successes and failures of the past. The Party must have the deepest and broadest roots among the masses. At the highest level.

## Year of Stalin

### On the Superiority of the Soviet System

"What is the cause of the fact that the U.S.S.R., despite its cultural backwardness, despite the dearth of capital, despite the dearth of technically experienced economic cadres, is in a state of increasing economic upswing and has achieved decisive successes on the front of economic construction, whereas the advanced capitalist countries, despite their abundance of capital, their abundance of technical cadres and their higher cultural level, are in a state of growing economic crisis and in the sphere of economic development are suffering defeat after defeat?"

"The cause lies in the advantages of the Soviet system of economy over the capitalist system.

"The Soviet system of economy means that

1) the power of the class of capitalists and landlords has been overthrown and replaced by the power of the working class and laboring peasantry,

2) the instruments and means of production, the land, factories, mills, etc., have been taken from the capitalists and transferred to the ownership of the working class and the laboring masses of the peasantry,

3) the development of production is subordinated not to the principle of competition and of ensuring capitalist profit, but to the principle of planned guidance and of systematically raising the material level and cultural level of the working people,

4) the distribution of the national income takes place not with a view to enriching the exploiting classes and their numerous parasitical hangers on, but with a view to ensuring the systematic improvement of the material conditions of the workers and peasants and the expansion of socialist production in town and country,

5) the systematic improvement in the material conditions of the working people and the continuous increase in their requirements (purchasing power), being a constantly increasing source of the expansion of production, guarantees the working people against crises of overproduction, growth of unemployment and poverty,

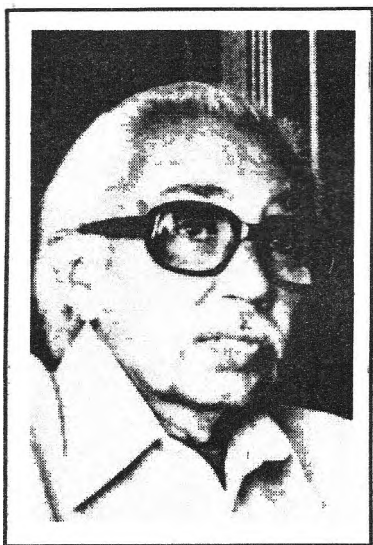
6) the working class and the laboring peasantry are the masters of the country, working not for the benefit of the capitalists, but for their own benefit, the benefit of the working people.

J. V. Stalin, 'The Capitalist or the Socialist System of Economy', from the Political Report of the Central Committee to the CPSU(B), June 27, 1930

1879 - 1979



# International



An Interview with Joao Amazonas, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Brazil

## "There Are Always Possibilities for Struggle"

This is the second part of an interview which the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Brazil, Joao Amazonas, gave to the central organ of the Communist Party of Portugal/Reconstructed, "Bandeira Vermelha". It was reprinted in the central organ of the Communist Party of Germany/Marxist Leninist. He draws the lessons from the struggle of his party against the dictatorship, and speaks on the world communist movement and comrade J V Stalin, under whose leadership the world communist movement achieved great advances.

In this interview, "B V" stands for "Bandeira Vermelha".

**B V** Even under the conditions of the worst persecution, has the party always tried to maintain for itself the possibilities of open work?

Comrade Amazonas: Yes. When I said we had a correct policy, that is what I had in mind. Naturally we have always developed secret activity. In a dictatorship it is one's duty to use the early morning hours to paint slogans that condemn the regime or distribute leaflets, organize brief meetings with workers or explain the situation in a few words to a group of

peasants. But it is very important that the party is in a position to use the smallest possibility for open work. That is the best means for keeping the broadest possible connection to the masses, to be able to lead them in struggle against the enemy and for the satisfaction of their demands.

Possibilities for open work exist in every situation. Because, of course, for a tyrannical government, even a fascist government, it is impossible to rule without applying at least a minimum of demagoguery. They must support certain movements, and this facilitates the possibilities of the people's forces for action.

In Brazil the political parties were eliminated. The government created two parties — in reality, only one — that of the government. But in order to consolidate the existence of their party, to create a pseudo democratic facade, they had to found a second party, a party of the loyal opposition. A party with a very restricted circle of activity.

But gradually life itself created a contradiction. The MDB (Brazilian Democratic Movement) was the whirlpool in which all opposition currents gathered. On this basis it transformed itself into a party of the united front. This party, created by the dictatorship in order to confine the activities of the opposition, thus contributed to the creation of a political form of organization that was not to be found in the country up till then and which has proved very effective.

When the wave of opposition awoke and began to threaten the dictatorship on the juridical and parliamentary fields, as is happening today, the military once more

was confronted with the question of dissolving this party and creating a new party group, which for some time would alter this relation of forces. Whether this works out for them or not, is of course another question. Today much is in motion in Brazil, and one can hardly hit upon exact predictions as to future events. In reality, of course, these plans of the government are faced with great difficulties. Every current of open opinion today wants to organize as a party, to exist legally.

The re-establishment of parties, which is demanded by the people and which stands in connection with freedom, conflicts with the entire reactionary structure. Everything indicates that these reactionary desires of the government, like many others also, will not be able to hold out long.

**B V** One thing that our fighters and the Portuguese people in general have been interested in was the armed struggle in Aragua. Can you tell us something about it? Comrade Amazonas: I think that the reports that were recently published in a big newspaper in Sao Paulo have in a certain way correctly defined the events in Aragua and their meaning for Brazil. They put the matter under the general heading "Aragua is an affair that has become part of Brazilian history." It is exactly that — an historic event.

The big newspapers that reported on it without exception increased their circulation substantially during the time of their reports, the fact that books and pamphlets on Aragua were bought in really large numbers — all this shows what great interest was aroused here.

What happened in Aragua?

They wanted to install the army there, the army that was trained in massacring students and strikers in the cities — they wanted to make it the same there. But with the first attempt they had found that as far as the inhabitants of South Paras were concerned, things were not going to be as the military had planned. These residents were determined to meet oppression as it must be met. A frightfully unequal struggle developed, but a struggle in which these forces offered resistance for three years, in the course of which they endured the most inhuman repression the country had ever seen. The inhabitants — the peasants, their children, the women, the elderly — were tortured, their huts and fields were burnt down, they were brutally persecuted. With very few weapons the fighters held off three campaigns of armed troops. These events are rich in lessons. How was it possible? It must be seen that in Aragua the fusion between the fighters and the masses was almost total, that there was no dividing line between those who fought and those who didn't.

Those who fought worked in the fields, and those who worked in the fields fought. That shows that the will of the rural masses, their will for struggle, for resistance, is there. There is an oppressed mass with limited resources for defending itself, but such actions have increased after Aragua. That was the desire of the rural population.

Millions upon millions of people from the rural population in Brazil want the right to land, a decent life, the right to free

dom. One can say that Aragua is a stage upon which one can see the whole drama of the Brazilian people, all their great desires to attain a better life, to change their lot. Our party played an important role in showing the peasants a path of struggle for their interests, many sacrifices were made by our fighters and important communist leaders like Mauricio Grabois fell. One cannot simply copy Aragua, for there were many shortcomings there, as well. One also cannot say that the only road of the Brazilian revolution is the road of Aragua. In actuality, the road of armed resistance in Brazil is that of linking the struggles of the broad masses in town and country with each other. The Brazilian people are taking this road. The Communist Party does not invent forms of struggle. One must know the sentiments of the masses, be able to translate them — even if they are not yet very clearly expressed. We are not voluntarists. Our Party was one of those political organizations that most strongly fought against fascism in Brazil and Latin America.

If there were other paths than that of armed struggle, then the peoples would surely use them to arrive at their goals. But there are no others and there will not be, because the ruling classes, in defense of their interests, are not prepared to accept it when the exploited majority becomes conscious of their position and rises up against the interests of the exploiters.

The ruling classes always find a way to suppress, in order to maintain their rule. This rule can only be broken by force, through revolution — that is the practical experience of the whole world. ■

### Albania Today

No 3, 1979

This issue includes  
Decisions of the Central Committee of the PLA to Celebrate the 35th Anniversary of Liberation and the 100th Anniversary of the Birth of J V Stalin

"Soviet Revisionism — the Most Complete Theory of Modern Revisionism"

"On Alliances, Compromises and Criticism of the Theory of 'Three Worlds' "

### New Albania

No. 3, 1979

This issue includes  
"Agriculture — 35 Years of Vigorous Development and Great Transformations"

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"Achievements of Our Archeology"

History — "The National Liberation Army Offensive of April May 1944"

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## Kennedy/Carter...

(Continued from page 1)

issues. And Kennedy, like Ford and Nixon before him, backs the fascist S I bill which makes strikes potentially a crime of treason. His promises and declarations are just the same old tonic in brand new bottles.

### Bottling the Tonic

The economic and political crisis of US imperialism will be at the center of campaign 1980. Dressed up in red white and blue bunting and promises of a bright new decade ahead, each candidate will do his best to sell his unique "tonic" for curing the crisis. The bourgeoisie has to maintain the illusion that elections offer a choice, if only on the surface.

Maintaining this pretense of the "workability" of bourgeois electoral politics is becoming increasingly difficult. But while

spontaneous rejection takes place, the broad masses in the US have not broken with the lie that the crisis is a problem of individual management, rather than the capitalist system itself. While the all round crisis is deep, it has not yet become a revolutionary crisis.

Lenin pointed out three characteristics of a revolutionary crisis: 1) When "it is impossible for the ruling classes to maintain their power unchanged, there is a crisis of the 'upper classes' taking one form or another, there is a crisis in the policy of the ruling class, as a result there appears a crack through which the dissatisfaction and indignation of the oppressed classes burst forth. 2) The wants and sufferings of the oppressed classes become more acute than usual, and 3) in consequence of the above causes there is a considerable increase in the activity of the masses who in 'peace time'

allow themselves to be robbed without protest, but in stormy times are drawn both by the conditions of the crisis and by the 'upper classes' themselves into independent historic action."

The triumph of the revolution does not only depend on the existence of these conditions, but also on the "ability of the revolutionary class to carry out revolutionary mass actions strong enough to break the old government which never, not even in a period of crisis, 'falls' unless it is 'toppled'."

Today in the US there are differences and cracks in the camp of the bourgeoisie and a 'crisis of faith' among the workers. But the bourgeoisie is not yet unable to rule in the old way. Nor are the broad masses of the oppressed yet unwilling to be ruled in the old way.

The bourgeoisie still has some

ability to use new personalities and refurbished reforms to revive faith in bourgeois government, though it is waning. Among the masses the hope remains that a solution to the crisis can be found short of the difficult struggle to overthrow the capitalist system itself. This is the influence of reformism.

Breaking the hold of reformism and bringing the proletariat and its allies into revolutionary struggle against the capitalist system is the task of the Party. In this election year the Party must patiently educate the proletariat to the treachery of reformism, transforming spontaneous rejection of bourgeois rule into class conscious revolutionary action.

Behind Carter's and Kennedy's sweet talk stands the class of millionaires. These men are their candidates. They offer no choice or solution for the proletariat. ■



## International

# Nov. 8: 38th Anniversary of the PLA

"The period since the founding of the Party of Labor of Albania (PLA) is the most brilliant in the age long history of the Albanian people. During this period deep revolutionary changes have been brought about in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the country, major achievements of vital importance have been attained, putting an end to oppression and exploitation and ensuring a rapid and uninterrupted development of the country toward socialism.

These achievements have been attained by the Albanian people, first and foremost, thanks to the correct line pursued by the Party of Labor of Albania. With the formation of the Party, the working class, the laboring masses brought forth from their ranks, in the heat of battle against the fascist invaders and traitors to the country, a revolutionary national leadership absolutely determined to defend the interests of the people, capable of bringing about national liberation and social emancipation.

The PLA has always been guided solely by Marxism-Leninism. It

has always held aloft the militant banner of the immortal ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism is the source of its inexhaustible strength, its wisdom and foresightedness, its courage and determination to surmount all difficulties and obstacles in order to forge ahead with unshakable confidence toward attaining its objective and fulfilling its tasks to the letter.

The PLA has succeeded in carrying out the major tasks lying before it, because it has firmly relied on the people. It inherited from the people marvelous patriotic and revolutionary traditions. In their struggle against the foreign yoke and social oppression, the Albanian people have fully demonstrated their love of their country, their deep hatred of bondage and oppression, their ardent aspirations and uncurbed will for progress, their unshakable confidence in victory, their matchless valor in battle against enemies superior in numbers and means, their sincere love and generosity toward their friends and comrades and their irreconcilable stand toward enemies and

traitors. They have had to fight against many and powerful enemies in order to protect their lives and future and to ward off the danger of their extinction as a people and nation. The stand the Albanians have maintained and the wars they have waged against their enemies have always been of a popular and liberation nature, they have been just wars. The progressive patriotic traditions and rich historical experience of the people have served as a very sound support for the activity of the Party. Inheriting these traditions, the Party elaborated this age long experience in the light of Marxist-Leninist teachings and embodied it in its revolutionary activity. The leadership of the PLA brought to the fore in all their splendor the noble virtues of our people, raised their vitality as a nation to a higher level and made patriotic and revolutionary traditions a driving force in the liberation of the country and construction of socialism //

*from the Introduction to  
The History of the  
Party of Labor of Albania*

## "The PSRA Pursues a Principled and Independent Policy"

*Excerpts from the Speech  
by Nesti Nase, Head of the  
Delegation of the PSRA to the  
34th Session of the  
General Assembly of the  
United Nations Organization*

"Today, all of us are witnesses to the efforts being made by the superpowers for the extension of their military alliances, the further strengthening of their aggressive character and the intensification of their activity and interference in ever broader areas of the world. A feverish race is going on between the aggressive NATO and Warsaw Treaty blocs, not only to increase their military potential, but also to include other countries in these blocs and exercise increasing pressure on those countries which want to preserve their national freedom, independence and sovereignty. New military bases are being added to the ones they have in foreign countries. Naval fleets, loaded with nuclear weapons, are patrolling the most distant seas and the skies have been filled with satellites spying on all the countries of the world. The imperialist general staffs are working out plans about which countries should be attacked first and which later, where they should intervene to day and where tomorrow.

"But the big imperialist powers are striving to saddle not only their own working people, but also the other peoples with the burden of the crisis, which has been going on for a very long time with no end in sight. The fact is that these powers, which, stubbornly maintaining the colonialist and neo colonialist systems in their international economic relations, are more and more exporting inflation, are increasing the prices of the commodities they export and are intensifying their

plunder. They are to blame for the great disorder in the international monetary systems, the anomalies which are apparent in the raw materials markets, and the deepening of the gap in per capita incomes between the developed and underdeveloped countries.

"Certainly, the present day international situation is not characterized by the policy and activity of the superpowers and the forces of reaction alone. One of its main, most important and very encouraging features is the increased determination of the peoples to oppose the policy of aggression and war, of plunder and exploitation, practiced by the imperialist powers. In many countries the movement of the broad masses of the peoples against foreign domination, economic exploitation, social and national oppression and cultural and spiritual impoverishment, is increasing in scope and depth.

"Imperialism and social-imperialism, the overt and disguised enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples, cannot halt the advance of history. The deep-going revolutionary transformations within individual countries and on an international scale in general, are an objective demand of time — are a question taken up for solution, not some distant prospect. Millions of people have joined the struggle for such transformations today and this struggle will certainly advance, irrespective of the obstacles and difficulties.

"Another problem which has preoccupied world public opinion is the grave situation created in South East Asia. The heroic Vietnamese people had to shed blood once again to defend their homeland from the barbarous aggression of the Chinese social-imperialists, who acted toward them just as the old colonialists and the

US imperialists had acted in the past.

"The Chinese aggression against the Vietnamese people broke out and all the recent events in Indochina took place on the background of the fierce rivalry of the imperialist superpowers — the United States, the Soviet Union and China — which, in order to realize their hegemonic and expansionist aims in that region, employed both the methods and practices of inciting Indochinese against Indochinese. The suffering of the peoples of Indochina today are the continuation of the suffering they have experienced for years and decades on end because of the aggression and interference of US imperialism, which has spread death and destruction in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Again it was the aggression of the Chinese social-imperialists against the Vietnamese people. The crocodile tears the US imperialists shed when they express their regret over the fate of the peoples of Indochina, or when they want to come out as the champions of principles, cannot conceal these facts. Likewise, the hypocrisy employed by the Soviet social-imperialists when they speak about friendship for the peoples of Indochina, is quite unable to conceal their hegemonic aims in South East Asia and their efforts to lure the countries of this region into their sphere of influence.

"The People's Socialist Republic of Albania pursues a principled, independent foreign policy. Consistently adhering to the policy of good neighborliness and the recognized democratic principles which govern the relations among the sovereign countries, Albania stands for the development of normal relations and the extension of trade, cultural and other exchanges with those countries which respect these

## LETTER from the CPUSA/ML

Central Committee, Party of Labor of Albania  
Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee and all cadre of our Party wish to express our warmest revolutionary congratulations and solidarity on the occasion of the 38th anniversary of the founding of the Party of Labor of Albania.

The science of Marxism-Leninism has been well served in the 38 years of your Party's life. All through its history the PLA has struggled valiantly against revisionism and opportunism of every hue, and against every imperialist power and imperialism as a system. At every step, the PLA has been maligned and threatened by imperialist revisionist encirclement and aggression. Its revolutionary vigilance in leading the Albanian people to defeat these attempts at intimidation and intervention testify to the PLA's revolutionary maturity and grounding in Marxism-Leninism.

For 38 long years, the PLA has led the Albanian people step by step toward the complete elimination of exploitation of man by man, faithfully applying the science of Marxism-Leninism to Albanian class struggle and to the world revolution. Keeping its own bearings the PLA has fought to expose and defeat the treacherous activities and influence of Titoite, Khrushchevite and Chinese revisionism, whose "theories" have provided such great dangers to the revolutionary movements and to the world proletariat. The depth of experience which the PLA can share with the other Marxist-Leninist parties of the world is of great value to them all, particularly the younger, less experienced parties.

This past year has seen the PLA and socialist Albania continuing to march along the revolutionary path charted in the last 38 years, on both the domestic and international levels. The propagation and popularization of the works and life of comrade J.V. Stalin, the convening of the 5th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania, the immense strides taken in agriculture and industry, the continuing care taken with the welfare of all workers, young and old, reflect the tremendous vitality and strength of socialism in Albania. In addition, during this past year, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the PLA have suffered two major blows: the earthquake of April and the death of comrade Hysni Kapo. We are confident that just as the effects of the earthquake have been overcome, the death of comrade Kapo will serve only to deepen the strong bonds between the Party and the Albanian people, encouraging new leaders to spring forth in numbers to lead the Albanian revolution constantly forward.

In our country, support and recognition of the great steps which the PLA has taken over the years continues to be steadily built. A retired worker from Kentucky, a southern state in our country, wrote recently, "Albania illustrates what strict adherence to Marxism-Leninism will accomplish — a paradise on earth for the common man, the working man, the proletariat. Albania! It is beautiful!" A prisoner from New York state wrote us several months ago, "I have the best regards for the Party of Labor of Albania with their Marxist-Leninist stand toward the Communist Party and government of China. The Albanian novel 'The Castle' that you chose for me, it was a very good choice, because I am of Albanian descent." A man from Washington state has written, "I recently finished Enver Hoxha's **Imperialism and the Revolution** and found its true Marxist-Leninist line refreshing." The working men and women of the U.S. are beginning to learn about Albania, many for the first time, breaking the blockade of information which has been imposed for so long by the imperialists. We are sure that all these people, and many other workers, join us in celebrating the 38th anniversary of the founding of the PLA and the 35th anniversary of the liberation of Albania and establishment of people's state power.

In the life and death struggle between imperialism and socialism, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, we are sure that the Party of Labor and socialist Albania will continue to forge ahead to complete the construction of socialism and communism "confident and unafraid."

**Long Live Marxism-Leninism!**  
**Long Live the Party of Labor of Albania!**  
**Revolution Will Surely Triumph!**

principles. It stands for sincere international collaboration with the freedom loving, democratic and progressive countries. Our country has refuted and refutes all the chauvinist concepts of the imperialists and social-imperialists, who want to put all international relations on the basis of inequality, arbitrariness and dictate.

"Albania is confident of its future. The Albanian people, under the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania with comrade En-

ver Hoxha at the head, are working with enthusiasm and great determination to further develop and strengthen their homeland relying entirely on their own forces. As always, they vigilantly safeguard their victories. They hold out a begging hand to nobody. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania will give the proper reply to any attempt of the imperialists, social-imperialists and anyone else to divert it from its independent political and ideological course."





# Hua in Europe

## Able Emissary of Imperialism

"We have always considered a strong and united Europe an important factor for the maintenance of world peace and stability."

With these words Hua Guofeng kicked off his three week tour of France, Germany, Britain and Italy. His stated purpose is to "promote understanding, deepen friendship, expand cooperation and defend peace." But after the diplomatic dinners are over, talk shifts to investments, loans and credits and a plan for Europe to bolster its military apparatus and step up war preparations.

Europe plays a central role in the Chinese global plan. The plan revolves around the unification of Europe, strengthening it militarily and cementing an alliance between Europe and the colonies and neo colonies, all of which are to be aligned with U.S. imperialism in opposition to the Soviet Union.

China aims to head up the bloc of "third world" countries, placing itself in an advantageous position to the other imperialist powers. As head of such a bloc, China would be in a position to contend for superpower status.

Promoting the strengthening of the military apparatus in Europe in alliance with U.S. imperialism, the Chinese are working to achieve a situation where the U.S. and its allies could defeat the Soviet Union in an imperialist world war, removing it as a world contender.

Pursuing this line, Hua called on the European countries to conduct dialogue and cooperate with the "third world." This cooperation Hua is so fond of advocating disregards the imperialist nature of France, Britain, Germany and Italy. It denies the history of revolutionary anti-colonial wars which have been waged against these imperialist powers, precisely because the people demanded an end to imperialist domination. Neither the imperialists' ambitions nor the oppressed people's aspirations have changed. What has changed is China's desire to act as the intermediary between the "second and third worlds" in order to build her own world position.

Hua pleaded with the European bourgeoisie to build a united and strong Europe. The Communist Party of China's revisionist glorification of a strong Europe denies the historical struggle of the European working class against such a unified front of the European bourgeoisie. The bolstered military apparatus Hua clamors for bears down upon the European working people. Every spring and fall, the German people are killed, crop lands are destroyed and ideological aggression is waged during NATO maneuvers. Yet despite all this, Hua demands more.

Eying Hua warily from its position of self interest, the German bourgeoisie was forced to make some disclaimers regarding Hua's warmongering. A government

spokesman said he hoped that the Chinese delegation would not "carry onto the soil of the Federal Republic their quarrel with the Soviet Union." Although the German bourgeoisie is aligned with U.S. imperialism, like the U.S. bourgeoisie itself, it sees the gains to be made at this time through collusion with the Soviet social imperialists.

During his trip, Hua investigated the latest industrial and military wares offered by the European bourgeoisie this season. But purchase of these goods requires more loans and credits to the already over extended Chinese capitalists.

During Mondale's recent trip to China a \$2 billion loan was

signed. U.S., Japanese, Italian and Canadian banks agreed to a series of loans earlier this year. Now Hua asks for more. When asked about repayment, Vice Premier Gu Mu stated "China is rich in natural resources so there is no question about our ability to repay the loans." The exchange of lands, credits and manufactured goods for natural resources is the longstanding relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. The greater the indebtedness to imperialism, the greater the subjugation and exploitation of the recipient.

In addition to offering China's natural resources, Hua offers the European bourgeoisie access to vast profits. Hua went to Europe



"The flower of Sino-French friendship is in full bloom", based on capitalist and neo-colonial relations

with a new Chinese law on foreign investment in hand. As stated by the Vice Premier, capitalists who are involved in joint ventures or who are sole owners of industry in China will "not get less from their investments in China than in other countries. We shall create favorable conditions so that their management experience and technical expertise will be brought into full play."

These enticing conditions are none other than the complete subjugation of the Chinese working class in order to ensure a stable and peaceful labor force from which the imperialists will reap their superprofits.

These are the messages Hua Guofeng brings to the European bourgeoisie. There is nothing in common with peace, friendship or cooperation of the socialist type about his trip. But there is everything to do with imperialist war, exploitation and oppression. Hua Guofeng went to Europe as an emissary, not of communism, but of imperialism. ■

### The Carter Doctrine in the Caribbean — Monroe Doctrine Rehashed

## U.S. Marines 'Invade' Guantanamo

The Marines landed in waves. Helicopters brought them to either side of the harbor, while amphibious landing craft appeared out of the mist on the beach. Positions were taken, foxholes filled with rain-drenched soldiers. The "invasion" of Guantanamo Bay had been completed. 1800 Marines landed at the U.S.'s only base on Cuba in a demonstration of military prowess aimed at counteracting the existence of Russian combat troops on the island.

"Just a routine maneuver", said one newspaper. "Purely a training exercise", stated the Defense Department. But Rear Admiral Replogle of the newly established Caribbean Contingency Joint Task Force was more straightforward. "This is only the first exercise and I'm sure we'll have quite a few more."

### New Camouflage for the Monroe Doctrine

Since 1823, the infamous Monroe Doctrine has guided U.S. relations with its neighbors in Latin and South America, and the Caribbean. At that time, President Monroe stated that any attempt on the part of European powers (then the main rivals to growing U.S. capitalism) to penetrate into the Caribbean or Latin America would be considered "dangerous to our peace and safety." Under this guise for over a century U.S. imperialism maintained an iron grip on the regimes and peoples of the region, dictating their governmental form, standard of living, economic and cultural development and political role. All other powers have been warned to keep their hands off U.S. imperialism's private sphere of influence, its "backyard."

Since the end of World War II, this Doctrine has started to break down. The revolutionary struggles of workers and peasants in Latin America and the Caribbean have

exposed the vicious domination of their countries and demanded "Yankee, go home!" The revolutionary movements which have developed in the post war years forced the U.S. to supplement the Monroe Doctrine of open and direct military intervention in the Western hemisphere with other tactics — economic "aid" (with plenty of strings attached), military blackmail, CIA instigated coups and diplomatic maneuverings on questions such as the Panama Canal.

The Monroe Doctrine has been given a new facade — "human rights" and "democracy for all."

### The Carter Doctrine

Another major chunk in the U.S. sphere of influence developed with the growth of ties between Cuba and the Soviet Union. No longer is U.S. imperialism uncontested in its own "backyard." The Caribbean and Latin America are more and more becoming a focal point of contention between the Soviet and U.S. imperialists.

The most visible signs have been the highly publicized "Cuba episodes" in October 1962 and again in October 1979. This most recent crisis over Cuba has been brought to a timely head by the "discovery" of Soviet combat troops on Cuba.

On October 1, President Carter gave a major policy speech to the nation on the Caribbean and the Cuba situation. The main purpose of this speech, buried deep in rhetoric of world peace and national security, was to reaffirm the policy by which the U.S. imperialists plan to combat Cuba's, and ultimately the Soviet Union's, influence in the Caribbean and Latin America. Two trends were apparent in this speech, both of which are component parts of the Carter Doctrine.

Steps are being taken to beef up military presence and surveil-

lence in the Caribbean. Under the guise of protecting Latin America from Soviet or Cuban pressure, the U.S. is reinforcing the apparatus which was used to invade the Dominican Republic, used for the Chilean coup and with which it continues to police the entire region.

On the other hand, "economic assistance" is being offered to "alleviate unmet economic and human needs and further to insure the ability of troubled (!) peoples to resist social turmoil and possible Communist domination." In other words, the crumbs from the imperialist banquet table must be spread a tad more widely in order to prevent an increase of Soviet influence in the region.

Military threats to Cuba, backed up with the "invasion" of Guantanamo, go hand in hand with promises of aid to countries "friendly" to U.S. imperialism. Furthermore, the U.S. is registering its displeasure with Cuba for concealing Soviet troops by halting recent efforts at normalization of relations between the two countries. Instead, old time, hard line talk is re-emerging from the White House about Cuba's "constant interference" in other countries' affairs. Alternately, blackmail and sweet talk are applied to all countries in the region.

### Peace or Militarization?

Summing up the steps which he plans to take in response to Soviet troops in Cuba, Carter stated, "These steps reflect my determination to preserve peace, to strengthen our alliances and to defend the interests of the U.S. The greatest danger to all nations of the world is the breakdown of a common effort to preserve the peace, and the ultimate threat of a nuclear war. Let us act wisely now, and preserve the world."

Unfortunately for Carter's image as "human rights" champion, the steps he is taking clearly add up to something altogether dif-

ferent. They add up to an excuse to increase the militarization of the Caribbean and Latin America, and a convenient reason for future intervention in these countries to suppress revolution under the guise of "repelling the Soviet threat." They add up to increased U.S. troop presence in the Indian Ocean and around the world. The Cuban "crisis" itself has justified a substantial increase in military expenditures aimed at buying off SALT opponents in the U.S. Congress.

These steps do not even hint that the U.S. seeks to preserve world peace. They point clearly and openly to the intention of U.S. imperialism to retain its domination over the countries of the world, and to step up its deadly competition with the Soviet social imperialists. These steps provide extra justification for the development of MX missile bases, and the establishment of a permanent new military headquarters in Florida.

Guantanamo is only a very short chapter in a long story of coups, deals, maneuvers and schemes aimed at maintaining the oppressed status of the Caribbean and Latin American countries and suppressing the revolutionary movements there. It is a minute part of the contention between the two superpowers, a matter which is beyond their control and based on the objective development of imperialism as a system, which threatens to engulf the world in devastating war.

President Carter said in his speech, "Politics and nuclear arsenals do not mix. We must not play politics with the human race."

Mr. Carter, for over a hundred years U.S. presidents representing U.S. imperialism have "played politics" with the lives of the people and countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, and there are certainly no indications that you intend to stop now. ■